

Fall 12-14-2018

Forced Will: Exploring the Connections Between Oil Extraction and Violence Against Women on a Great Northern Plains Reservation

Marie Chase

University of San Francisco, mchase2@dons.usfca.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.usfca.edu/thes>

 Part of the [Other International and Area Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Chase, Marie, "Forced Will: Exploring the Connections Between Oil Extraction and Violence Against Women on a Great Northern Plains Reservation" (2018). *Master's Theses*. 1162.
<https://repository.usfca.edu/thes/1162>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects at USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. For more information, please contact repository@usfca.edu.

**Forced Will: Exploring the Connections Between Oil Extraction and Violence
Against Women on a Great Northern Plains Reservation**

Marie Chase

San Francisco November 2018

Masters of International Studies

**FORCED WILL: EXPLORING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN OIL EX-
TRACTION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ON A GREAT NORTHERN
PLAINS RESERVATION**

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS
in
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

By **MARIE CHASE**
November 20, 2018

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all members, this thesis project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

APPROVED:

Capstone Adviser

Date

MAIS Director

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i.
ABSTRACT	ii.
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	
Bakken Region	1
History of Extraction in the Region	4
Exploitation of Bodies	6
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	
Settler Colonialism	9
Marxist Ecology and The Shocks of Capitalism	11
Ecofeminism Feminist Political Ecology	13
FPE and Biopolitics	15
III. IDENTITY AND VIOLENCE	
Indigenous	20
Native	20
American Indian/Indian(ness)	21
Violence	21
IV. METHODOLOGY	
Feminist Methodology	26

	Indigenous Approach to Methodology; Conversational Method	27
	Connecting with Interviewees	29
	Data Collection	30
	Recording and Interpreting Data	31
	Limitations	32
	Positionality	33
V.	FINDINGS	
	Self-Determination: Bodies, Land, Shock	37
	Survival: Poverty, Security at Risk, Resilience	52
VI.	CONCLUSION	60

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express the sincerest gratitude to the tribal members I was able to speak with and interview for this thesis. The tribal members' time given, not only made this thesis and the findings possible, but I learned so much about my people and built timeless relationships with tribal individuals. Dr. Adrienne Johnson, thank you for accepting the position as the advisor to my capstone project, you enlightened me with feminist methodologies, differing theoretical frameworks, and lifted my spirits when I needed them the most throughout the whole capstone process. To my second reader, Dr. Brian Dowd-Urbe, thank you for believing in my project from the beginning and being an extended mentor outside of your own oversight of various student thesis'. Lastly, I want to thank my parents for their support and love for my graduate experience.

ABSTRACT

The Bakken region has become one of the most important regions to the American economy within the last decade. A Great Northern Plains Reservation sits on a large portion of the Bakken and started to partake in unconventional oil extraction. With the leasing of the land to oil corporations came unprecedented issues. Soon influxes of men started to arrive in the Bakken. Formal and informal 'man camps' were established to house such a large gendered migration. This thesis seeks to understand the intersectionality of violence on land and bodies, as since the implementation of shale oil extraction, there have been indications of heightened experiences of violence against women in the Bakken region. This thesis explores the impact of the oil extraction industry on a Northern Great Plains Reservation and how Native Indigenous women are disproportionately affected by violence. An Indigenous approach toward research, as well as feminist methodologies were utilized during the research process to develop the findings in the thesis.

Chapter I:

Introduction

Bakken Region

The Bakken Formation has become one of the most important regions to the American economy within the last decade and has contributed to the United States' global influence on shale oil production (Zaklan, Amsari, and Kemfert 2017). The Bakken region is the second largest producer of oil after Texas, with close to 1.2 million barrels of crude oil being produced per day in 2017 (Hughlett 2018). Such shale production is expected to increase as U.S. crude oil production is estimated to reach 10 million barrels per day by the end of 2018, a historical high since the 1970s (Zaklan, Amsari, and Kemfert 2017). Expansion of shale oil production in the U.S. has permitted the country to react quickly to global market price changes of oil and reduce power OPEC nations hold in the market (Zaklan, Amsari, and Kemfert 2017).

The extractive oil development in the Northern Plains area was brought to further highlight during the resistance of the North Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and their existing allies, many of whom were tribes pursuing extractive processes on their own tribal lands. The pipeline would transport crude oil from the northwestern tip of North Dakota to Canada and Illinois, traveling through Sioux sacred lands and the tribe's viable drinking water (Anderson 2018). Though not all Indigenous communities are opposed to extractive energy development, the DAPL venture undermines self-determination and ultimately threatens tribal Indigenous sovereignty, a critical issue many Indigenous peoples are in opposition to.

A Northern Plains Reservation¹ sits on a large portion of the Bakken Shale. The shale is located amongst eastern Montana, western North Dakota, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the Williston Basin (King 2008). Until the last decade the deep seated fossil fuel within the shale was unable to be extracted, but the innovations of horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracking made the fossil fuel extraction a reality (King 2008). The U.S. Geological Survey estimated the shale could generate 4.3 billion barrels of oil (King 2008). With fractions of the rich shale present on and around Northern Plains Reservations, prospective development on and around tribal lands started to circulate. A Northern Plains tribe began unconventional oil development in late 2007 and early 2008 (Sontag, McDonald 2014). The Chairman at the time described the development of oil as “sovereignty by the barrel,” because of the the proclaimed mutually advantageous relationship to be held between the reservation and oil industry (Sontag, McDonald 2014).

With the leasing of tribal² and individual allotment land³ to oil corporations came unprecedented consequences to the reservation. Tribal members that own land on the reservation are able to lease their land in exchange for royalty income, and some tribal members at one point were receiving, but not limited to, as much as \$100,000 a month. Such an income was a total contrast for many that were once earning an income that was

¹ A Indian Reservation situated amongst the Great Plains region of grassland that stretches across central North America from the Rocky Mountains to the woodlands of the Midwest (umich.edu). I have chosen to not identify the tribe, to show that my findings are not representative of the tribe. Instead, I have chosen to identify the tribe in the greater region context.

² Tribal land is owned by the tribal government.

³ Land owned by individual enrolled (must have certain blood quantum) tribal members, rather than owned by the tribe/tribal government.

unable to cover basic survival needs. Not all tribal members own land and not all tribal members' land is sitting on a oil reserve, as pockets of oil are only found in certain areas of the reservation, therefore many are unable to claim oil royalties. Neighboring tribal members began to experience huge amounts of wealth gaps amongst the community, with some still living in an economically impoverished state and others becoming millionaires. Though employment opportunities did follow the oil enterprise, both on and off the reservation, attracting non-Native peoples to the region.

The sudden oil boom expanded at a tremendous rate leading to the high demand for equipment and machinery workers. Soon influxes of mostly white, but also other non-Native men, arrived in the Bakken region in search of work, at a time when work was hard to come by due to the Great Recession of 2008. Oil corporations and private entities have built what is referred to as 'man camps' to house such a large gendered migration. Man camps are small half sized trailers clustered together which have created a space for isolation, drugs, and violence. In addition to corporate built man camps, there are also man camps that are less structured in construction, meaning that no organization built the new housing or development for oil settlement. Such informal man camps can be described as settled encampments of mobile trailers, tents, and even cars. Both the formal and informal man camps were and are evident near and on the Northern Plains Reservation. Many of the non-Native oil workers have left their families to work seasonally, are single, and have no accountability to the Native community.

Since the flooding of oil workers, Native Indigenous women's experiences of violence increased and in 2012 the tribal police reported more murders, fatal accidents, sex

ual assaults, domestic dispute, drug busts, gun threats, and human trafficking cases than in any year before (Crane-Murdoch 2013). Although violence against Native women is not a new phenomena, the increasing attacks on Native women in the Bakken has reignited urgency in an area that has rapidly increased in extractive oil development (Deer, Nagle 2017). The land and Native Indigenous women both share a history of violence rooted in colonial practices of extractive processes and gendered harm. Violent intrusion on Native lands and culture by colonial settlers is a mirrored dynamic of violence towards Native women and their autonomy over their physical existence and body (Deer 2015). In relation to this violence against Native Indigenous women, the question that guides this research is, to what degree has fossil fuel extractive activities on a Northern Plains Reservation engendered violence against women from the surrounding Native community? My hypothesis to this question is that the extraction of oil on the reservation has enabled a significant space of violence that disproportionately affects Native Indigenous women.

History of Extraction in the Region

An introductory explanation of recent affairs and issues in the Bakken area was presented in the previous section (Bakken Region), although explaining a historical context of the region in relation to extraction is necessary to understand processes that set the tone for the current shale extraction. The extractive developments (both past and present) on and around the greater Bakken region in this thesis are considered violent processes to the land, as they rearrange natural landscape for unsustainable capitalist means. Further

discussion of violence against the land is expressed in Chapter II. The mass production of extracted natural resources in the region is a colonial practice aimed to colonize the lands and thus the Natives peoples who are deeply connected and spirited with the lands.

In the 1860's the U.S. Army gave orders to General Sully⁴ to investigate the land, plants, and animals on and near what is now the Bakken region (ndstudies.gov). The intent to explore the landscape was for the determination of the land's suitability for capitalist economic prosperity, in terms of farming, mining, and other extractive developments (ndstudies.gov). Naturalists and engineers of the exploration project gave reports of coal and water in the region, essential elements for successful farming and ranching (ndstudies.gov). Coal mines were present in the region, by way of colonial practices, as early as the first established railroads in the Northern Great Plains area (ndstudies.gov). The coal was used for heating homes and railroad production (ndstudies.gov). In the early 1900s mass production of coal mining was developed in the region (ndstudies.gov). The Washburn mine (of the Northern Great Plains area) was producing 50 tons of coal a day in 1900, and by the end of 1900 the mine increased production to 200 tons of coal per day (ndstudies.gov). In 1906, clay was discovered below the coal layer of the mine and the clay was manufactured into brick and sold for construction building (ndstudies.gov). The mine was later sold and the mining area was transformed into a strip mine (ndstudies.gov). Much like the circumstances that attracted the Bakken oil workers to the region, the Washburn mine employed many single men and those working far from home (ndstud

⁴ General Sully was engaged in many battles with Indian tribes as his explorations were pervasive and violent towards the land and Native peoples (ndstudies.gov).

ies.gov). The mine provided a boarding house for unsettled workers that housed 20 sleeping rooms where local women and girls cooked and cleaned for the miners (ndstudies.gov).

In the year of 1951, oil extraction in the Williston Basin (Bakken region) became a reality after an oil company began months of drilling and used explosives to shatter the rock down to 11,000 feet below the surface (ndstudies.gov). Soon after the first oil well was emplaced, an oil boom followed in the Bakken region (the first oil boom in the Bakken) (ndstudies.gov). Although in the 1980s, oil production became stagnant as the price of oil fell from \$40 per barrel in 1981 to \$10 per barrel in 1986 (ndstudies.gov). Oil companies then pulled their business from the region and another oil boom would not be present until the introduction of new extractive technologies, such as hydraulic fracking and horizontal drilling.

Exploitation of Bodies

Violence against women by way of extractive processes is a phenomena present in many Indigenous communities. When there is no regard for the connection between body and the land in extractive development, the very existence of bodies can be threatened (Haysom 2017). Where there is a form of violence on the land, such as environmental degradation, scholars and reports have found an inextricably link to violence on peoples bodies (Haysom 2017; WEA, NYSHN 2016). The intersectionality between violence on bodies and violence on land is a developing matter that can be grasped by the toolkit created in partnership by the Women's Earth Alliance (WEA) and Native Youth Sexual

Health Network (NYSHN) (2016); generated for a community report to support resistant efforts against environmental and gendered violence present amongst extractive industries. The report gathered stories from various Indigenous communities impacted by environmental violence throughout the United States (WEA, NYSHN 2016). The report recognizes the gendered violences amongst Indigenous populated extractive regions, with particular emphasis on women and young people (WEA, NYSHN 2016). One of the exploitative violent devastations introduced in the work are “man camps,” which perpetuate sexual and domestic violence, drugs and alcohol, murders, and disappearances (WEA, NYSHN 2016).

Though man camps have been used throughout differing extractive industries in the past, what preceded man camps and allowed for exploitative measures in the Bakken’s extractive processes was the social relationships between settlers and Native communities in the fur trade industry of Canada and the Northern Plains region. Although the fur trade is not an extractive industry, but rather another mass produced exploited operation, the fur trade included dynamics of social and cultural complexes of class, sexism, and racism (Van Kirk 1980; Bourgeault 1983). Native women were exploited (politically and sexually) and an important commodity themselves for European access to Native communities (Bourgeault 1983). A journal of an officer at the York Factory in 1716-17 documents the desire to establish trade with Native peoples by way of a captured Native ‘Slave woman’ (Bourgeault 1983). The British taught the Slave woman the use of British goods for her to extend the goods to her community and implement trade relations for the British (Bourgeault 1983). European women were not allowed into Rupert’s land during

the fur trade, which made Native women's presence valuable to European men for marriage and casual (sexual) relationships as a means to developing trade relations (Bourgeault 1983). The efforts of Europeans to shamelessly use Native women for commodity trade and profits exemplifies the value many European men held for Native women. Native women were seen as commodities, like land is seen in extractive industries, and were only given value if they were able to provide trade relationships. Lastly, although the California gold rush of the nineteenth-century is not in the region of the Northern Plains, the event was an instance of Native exploitation in relation to an extractive resource, as settlers' hatred and fear of Native peoples justified the rape of Native women during the settler investigation and extraction of gold (Deer 2015). This historical detail contributes to the overall theme that wherever there is violence on the land, there may be violence on bodies as well.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Intro

This paper contributes to six bodies of work: settler colonialism, marxist ecology, the ideology of shock doctrines, ecofeminism, feminist political ecology, and biopolitics. By the analysis of the consequences being experienced on a Northern Plains Reservation surrounded by extractive activities, this paper allows for insight on the continuation of oppressive colonial power, felt by different factions of life, both human and non-human. By way of the findings, that are more detailed in Chapter IV, in alliance with previous literature connected to the topics of violence on land and bodies, one may understand how the findings challenges, expands, and allows for new engaged arguments. The paper aids in understanding the possible connections between extractive practices and violence against women by the following theoretical frameworks.

Settler Colonialism

“Indians compromise less than 1 percent of the population, yet they own 40 percent of the nation’s coal reserves, 65 percent of the U.S. uranium reserves, untold ounces of gold, silver, cadmium, manganese, billions of board feet of timber, oil, billions of cubic feet of natural gas, unopened treasure chests of copper and zinc, millions of acres of pristine real estate, and guard the door to 20 percent of the nation’s freshwater.”
(Paul VanDevelder: 2004)

Since the arrival of colonial entities to lands tended by Indigenous populations, marginalization and genocide of Indigenous peoples have been the historical norms when concerning the relationship between colonial settlers and Indigenous peoples. According

to Patrick Wolfe (2006), settler colonialism can be explained as an eliminatory structure for the accumulation of land and essentially ‘destroys to replace’. This ‘logic of elimination,’ that most often transcends into a legacy of genocide, strives on the motivation for access to land that will ultimately transcend into fictitious commodities⁵ (Wolfe 2006; Polanyi 1994). The colonial violence, as furthered described in Chapter III, that is often associated with differing forms of settler colonialism is foundational to varying forms of structural systemic violence, such as violence against women and environmental violence (Park 2017). This thesis will give addition to operating systems of settler colonialism, as the accumulation of land and thus natural resources is a colonial practice that has existed on the Northern Plains Reservation and is now in full operation in the Bakken via shale extraction. By focusing on a smaller sphere of a settler society, rather than a country, distinct colonial violence in the Bakken may be understood in the larger context of settler colonialism.

The concept of settler colonialism is further used by differing legal scholars to describe how settler colonialism was set into law to sustain a structure of oppressive power. Sherene Razack addresses violence against women in Canada and the murky zones of law ‘where violence against Indigenous girls and women is authorized’ (Razack 2016). Razack argues the law assists in gendered disposability amongst Indigenous populations by the lack of investigations in death and homicide of Indigenous women (Razack, 2016). This thesis will address the legal structured power issue of violence against

⁵ In Karl Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation*, the economist critiques capitalist notions of land, labor, and money as fictitious commodities that are essential to industrial markets, but are not essentially commodities. Polanyi describes ‘land as nature not produced by man, labor as human captivity for sale, and money as being a produced purchasing power (Polanyi 1944).’

Indigenous women, but in reference to the Northern Plains Reservation of the Bakken region and ultimately the United States.

Marxist Ecology and The Shocks of Capitalism

Chris Williams (2010; 2013) references Karl Marx to explain capitalist environmental violence which pertains to the hybrid exploitation of humans and the natural world, the ‘twin sources of wealth’ deemed by Marx. Exploiting the environment in exchange for capital wealth (accumulation) is often an ever-lasting continuation of rapacity that mirrors the exploitation of human bodies who complete the extractive process of harmful excavator activities (Williams 2010; 2013). Capitalism is regarded as a violent system (mode of production) that forces work upon people in order to survive in the world, which can be related to the Northern Plains Reservation’s position of being economically destitute until the arguably enforced implementation, or force will, of the shale oil industry amongst the community (Williams 2010; 2013). Due to the Bakken being a rural region with limited opportunities for development, those working (both Natives and non-Natives) for oil industries depend their livelihoods on oil and this turns into a dependent cycle. Decision of life, like self-health, are progressively worsened by capitalist strain on class marginalization and racism (Williams 2010; 2013).

Marxist ecology emphasizes environmental exploitation in exchange for survival by the utilization of bodies for the labour process, but there is little emphasis on the surrounding communities (bodies) and the consequences they encounter by the extractive systems. My paper seeks to understand this unaddressed theme embedded in capitalist

extractive processes, in how the surrounding community (especially Indigenous women) of extracted land are involved in exploitative and violent measures that jeopardize their health and existence. In addition this paper contributes to the theme of environmental violence and its devout relationship to capitalism, which continues to jeopardize human health.

In relation to capitalism and exploitation, Naomi Klein (2007) describes how neoliberal policies maximizes capitalism through the ideology of shock doctrines. Shock doctrines can be described as free market neoliberal policies that consume the international society by way of exploitive measures of disaster-shocked peoples (Klein 2007). Klein (2007) gives narratives of different historical crisis' such as the 2004 tsunami and military coup of Chile in 1973, both of these crisis led to policy enforcement of privatization, deregulation, and other free market measures. Such policies were emplaced at a time of distress, and positioned as 'solutions' to the disaster (Klein 2007). The fallacy embedded in the solutions left bodies and land exploited in the process. Similarly, I argue that in the United States, a shock doctrine of the implementation of hydraulic fracking was put into operation through free market measures, in response to the 2008 Great Recession (a form of a disaster). Shale extraction (fracking) was deemed as a solution, or a survival tool, to the downfall of the economic state, but such extraction of the land left bodies and the environment abused in the process. I extend the concept of a shock doctrine to be understood on a reservation and how a neoliberal practice (shale extraction) has allowed for exploitation of Native women specifically.

Ecofeminism and Feminist Political Ecology (FPE)

Feminist environmental philosophy is an umbrella term for the differing philosophical outlooks on the cohesive relationships between women, nonhuman animals, and nature (Warren 2015). Ecofeminism and feminist political ecology are two subgroups of the umbrella term and although they differ in discourse, both highlight the understanding of how women's oppression is interconnected with land exploitation. Both perspectives also establish various critiques on extractive resource development. Ecofeminism specifically coincides with the bond between women and nature on a 'shared history of oppression by patriarchal institutions and dominant Western culture (Warren 2015).' Ecofeminism can also be interpreted as perceiving the connection of women and nature as an innate biological trait (Warren 2015). The direction of this paper examines the violent nature of the oil extraction industry in the Bakken region, where there is undoubtedly a continuation of historical colonial oppression toward the environment and the Native women surrounding the oil extracting area. This paper emphasizes that the two malpractices (oppression of the environment and Native women) share a history of being persecuted by Western (colonial) culture. Rather than focus on oppressive natures by patriarchal institutions, this thesis will address settler colonialism (Western structure) as the driving force behind the many oppressive violences against Indigenous women and the environment prevalent in the Bakken.

Feminist political ecology examines the disproportional effects women face in and as a result of political power structures. Feminist political ecology links the decision making process in the social, political, and economic contexts that shape environmental

policies and practices (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 2015). This theory also connects the ‘uneven distribution of access to and control over resources on the basis of class, ethnicity, race, while recognizing the gendered struggle that exists when trying to sustain ecologically viable livelihoods’ (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 2015). The approach additionally touches on legal and customary rights that are gendered which will relate to the concluding legal themes of settler colonialism and violence against Native women.

Kristina Großmann’s (2017) work incorporates gendered political ecology in her analysis of the eaglewood (extracted resource) boom in Kalimantan, Indonesia and the affects the extractive industry has on the Indigenous surrounding population. Großmann’s (2017) work specifically uses FPE to analyze gendered relations in Kalimantan and focuses specifically on masculine identities of male gaharu (Indigenous identity). Similarly I use FPE to review gendered relationships between settlers and Native Indigenous women in relation to the extractive oil industry in the Bakken, but rather than focus on men of the Native community, I reflect on the disproportionate affects Native women face in the extracted area because of the historical oppression Native women have encountered through settler relations. Sandra Veuthey and Julien-François Gerber (2009) use an FPE framework in their research and findings concerning the extractive practice of commercial logging in South-eastern Cameroon that have socio-environmental costs on women of the extracted regions. Though I comparably use FPE to examine socio-environmental costs to women in the extractive Bakken region, I exclusively center the per

spective from a gendered-racial position, as Native women are continually left out of extractive discussions and marginalized in the United States.

There has been much feminist political ecology research done in South America, Central America, and urban cities in North America and Europe (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 2015). One aspect of feminist political ecology that is in need of further analysis is the perspective of environmental gendered inequality in rural areas in North America and Europe, this is where this thesis will help fill the gap in literature as the Northern Plains Reservation and the Bakken are rural entities in North America (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari, 2015). Additionally criticism of feminist political ecology has emerged, as race is seen in limited theorization in the field (Mollett, Faria 2012). Few works have addressed power axes of race and gender to understand environmental political inequalities (Mollett, Faria 2012). This paper will specifically look at race and gender by way of the disproportionate consequences happening in a violent extractive environment.

FPE and Biopolitics

“For millennia man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living being with the additional capacity for political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics calls his existence as a living being into question.”

(Foucault: 1979)

Michel Foucault (1979) understands that at one point in time sovereign power was the right to decide life and death, only by exercising the right to kill or refrain from killing. Foucault (1979) understood that power was the privilege to seize hold of life in

order to suppress it. Such a style of sovereign power had transitioned into an era of management of life, or power over life, in a 'biopolitical' age amongst Western societies (Foucault 1979; Rose 2001). Foucault exemplifies biopolitics as political administration over the well-being and health of populations in order to maintain imperative order of each living body (Rose 2001). In the name of life necessity or survival, western institutions have been able to deplete entire populations to sustain individual's continued existence (Foucault 1979). Political officials and institutions now arrange the vital processes of human existence in the contexts of: quality and size of population, human sexuality and reproduction, health and disease, birth and death (Rose 2001). Human health sciences reinforced bio-power by supremacist arrangements that ultimately created notions of the 'other' (Rose 2001). Humans are now political subjects of the state where human existence itself is in question (Foucault 1979). This thesis parallels biopolitics as Native women's bodies and ultimately their existence is threatened by the oil industry, proclaimed necessary for survival, and its colonial practices. The United States government and its financial resource (the oil industry) enforced shale extraction in the Bakken to sustain political power in the international market. The Northern Plains Reservation would become a subject to the state with no consideration or viable solutions to the consequences the reservation would face because of shale extraction. This paper will additionally address that Native women are especially susceptible to such structural violence that calls their bodies and being into question.

Foucault (1979) references the law in a biopolitical age where institutions of justice operate as a norm embedded in the continuum of regulatory forces that create a reali

ty of injustice in the name of vital survival. The normalizing power of both the law and bioethics are deemed acceptable by their continual practice (Foucault 1979). The objectives of life: basic needs, one's concrete existence, the realization of one's potential, and all the possible are limited and arguably nonexistent in political administrative process and institutions that sought to sustain these objectives of life (Foucault 1979). The described administration left individual bodies to rely on themselves, or other means, to sustain their well-being, health, and existence (Foucault 1979). A process that was created by the state to provide survival, was ultimately the demise to survival (Foucault 1979). This paper provides addition to the theory that justice operations actually enforce and further struggle rather than protect and serve human existence. This is evident on the reservation and how the tribe is limited to legal jurisdictions over criminals that commit heinous acts of violence towards tribal members, and especially towards Native women. Due to lack of legal reparations and accountability, the Native community and Native women are left to protect and fend for themselves with little hope for justice.

Biopolitics analytics are relational to the FPE theoretical framework as women's bodies experience disproportionate rates of violence under control or self-determination of resources and under (political and legal) authority of the state. Diego Andreucci and Giorgos Kallis (2016) address extraction in Peru and the violence that followed Indigenous opposition to extractive proceedings through the theory of biopolitics. Andreucci and Kallis (2016) address Indigenous populations struggle against authorized state violence, although women specifically are not of central discussion in the work, my thesis will extend biopolitical theory to address gendered disposability in conjunction with

extraction. I argue that shale oil extraction was authorized by the U.S. government as a savior to a financial crisis that would ultimately improve the lives of the American society. Once shale extraction began in the Bakken, the U.S. government was able to attain political power in the global market, but simultaneously Native women were continuously exploited in the shale extractive process. Native women and their bodies were being sacrificed for U.S political power and the economic betterment of the American society.

Chapter III:

Identity and Violence

Intro

Identifying the many conceptual terms used in the paper enables an understanding of the paper's context. Some of the employed identity terms are used interchangeably or as adjectives throughout the text. I choose to highlight understandings rather than restrictive definitions to recognize the fluidity in identity and to keep consistent with a feminist framework that allows for flexible understandings of knowledge. Feminist frameworks will be discussed further in the Methodology section of Chapter IV. Although explanations of understandings (not set definitions) are presented, they merely represent a sense of self-identification collected through my time on earth. Depending on the setting I am in, I will use either Native or Indigenous to self-identify. None of the presented identity designations are hierarchical or more politically correct than the other when used by varying Indigenous peoples. Though the standard may fluctuate when some of the terms are used by and amidst non-Indigenous peoples.

The perception or structure of violence is clarified by two varying themes. Violence is used through this paper to highlight the injustices both Native women and the land encounter in the processes of extractive industries. Differing forms of violence are discussed and defined by interdisciplinary academic disciplines of public health, colonialism, and environmental studies. The presentation of violence is in relation to the addressed consequences the reservation is experiencing by way of shale oil extraction. Ad

ditionally such violent consequences are not of recent concern as historically, violent measures against Native populations have permeated American history.

Indigenous

The identity expression ‘Indigenous’ is progressively seen in company of academic works and amongst the international community to collectively or individually address first peoples of the many regions (lands) of the world, whom have distinct cultural customs. Additionally, the term arguably holds popular relevance to the times or the generations that have matured with the notion. Rather than adopt an official definition, the United Nations has advanced comprehension based on the following familiarities.

‘Self-identification as Indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member, historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, distinct social, economic or political systems, distinct language, culture and beliefs, form non-dominant groups of society, resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems distinctive peoples and communities (United Nations).’

Where ‘Indigenous’ is used (in the paper), specific reference is implied to peoples that strive for recognition of identities, way of life, rights to traditional, and territorial lands.

As well as rights to self-determination and natural resources.

Native

The social construction of ‘Native American’ is and has been presented by the U.S. government in relation to race and blood quantum measures (Weaver 2001). To not be dignified by the U.S. government and its historical oppressive nature, multitudes of Natives have abandoned the ‘American’ component of the identification. Nativeness

transformed into something more than a checked box on a census form, rather an ‘individual identity always being negotiated in relation to collective identity, and in the face of an external colonizing society (Weaver 2001; Lawrence 2009).’ Amid this work, Native is distinguished by the descendants of the original peoples of North America whom are connected with their ancestors, whatever that connectedness maybe (Weaver 2001).

American Indian/Indian(ness)

Codifications of Indian-ness were imagined by the American government, then legalized, to sustain European settler power by control over land, thus the Indigenous population or vice versa (Lawrence 2003). The construct of this racial classification possessed no significance prior to colonization (Lawrence 2003). The American Indian idiom is often referenced in law and political matters. A description in the paper where American Indian is positioned, references legal relation. To represent and maintain a romanticized noble past, ‘Indian’ repeatedly instilled such an image (Weaver 2001). The traditionalists generation and some baby boomers often grew up Indian, the descriptor was convenient and recognizable (Horse 2005). The terminology of Indian has progressed generally to be exchanged only between Natives and has taken on a more cultural perspective. Text locality of Indian(ness) in this thesis implies an ontology of endearment embedded with traditional ways or customs inherently connected to the land, and can only be experienced by people who are Indians (Maudrie 2014).

Violence

Violence is an exceedingly extensive conceptualization that is too regularly positioned upon the Native community. With Indigenous movements such as the No More Stolen Sisters⁶, Idle No More⁷, and NoDAPL there is evidently still immense concern of structural violence positioned upon Indigenous peoples and the environment. Paul Farmer, an eminent advocate for global health equality, describes structural violence as: ‘...social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way...The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people (De Maio 2015).’ Farmer’s work is often associated with health inequality issues, although structural violence is not subject to only the healthcare realm. With the desire to accumulate land and natural resources by eliminatory standards, settler practices have formulated a structure that continually oppresses Indigenous populations. Discourse on violence should be apprehended as performing on a continuum holding consideration of interpersonal and structural violence as interrelated and interlaced (Park 2017).

In a settler society, ‘colonial violence is foundational to all other forms of interpersonal and structural violence,’ this is experienced by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Park 2017). Colonial violence in relation to North America can be positioned as a legacy originated in Manifest Destiny or the notion that Indigenous people and culture, and thus land as Natives are eminently tied to land, carry no value and West

⁶ The No More Stolen Sisters movement is in response to the missing and murdered Indigenous women (MMIW) epidemic (Suriano 2018).

⁷ Idle No More is an international Indigenous moment organized against colonial oppression in regards to sovereignty and environmental protections (Barker 2015).

ern institutions had a 'duty' to obliterate and then replace them (Weaver 2009). There are two specific conditions where colonial violence is permeated throughout the paper. The first condition is violence against women. This condition concerns physical and non-tangible harms against Indigenous women, who are especially vulnerable to violence according to the United Nations (UN General Assembly 1993). Such non-tangible destructive principles can be explained by: inequality, lack of security, liberty, integrity, and dignity (UN General Assembly 1993). These injustices are embedded in colonial practices that permit physical, sexual, and psychological abuses (UN General Assembly 1993).

The second colonial violence circumstance in the paper is violence against the environment, which is inherently connected to violence against women (bodies), as settler discourse used any 'necessary violence', such as sexual violence, to perpetrate Native communities that resisted the dispossession of land and resources. Environmental violence can be acknowledged by Horacio de la Cueva Salcedo's (2015) description: 'the use and extraction of natural resources in such a way as to preclude their sustainable use and disrupts the natural processes of a system.' Environmental violence amongst a settler society, like the United States and Bakken region, can be attributed to historical colonial legacies embedded with the use of violence against Native women for the collection of land for the utilization of commodified natural resources.

Chapter IV:

Methodology

“The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s of vocabulary.

(Professor Smith: 1999)

Intro

The academic discipline of international studies is often structured by Eurocentric mainstream theories, creating a paradigm lacking of cultural and feminist conceptualizations that represent, as well as, interconnect with non-western communities and female populations. Such cultural and feminist exclusion experienced by non-western communities and female populations is also apparent in the academic research realm. I am and identify as a Native woman and due to my ancestral-cultural background I wanted to abstain and protect myself from such orient-like⁸ applications. The traumatic history of colonized methodologies, ‘still offend our (Indigenous peoples) most deepest sense of our humanity’ (Smith 1999). In order to highlight my positionality⁹ and recognize Indigenous perspective in my research, my approach to methodology is congruent with interdisciplinary knowledges of Indigenous and feminist disciplines.

An issue as sensitive as violence against women, with an emphasis on Indigenous women, has to be examined using a nontraditional research approach. I did not feel comfortable using research methods that have in the past enabled problematic colonial depic

⁸ Orient-like references Edward Said’s description of orientalism; mode of Western discourse of the ‘other’ that is reinforced by institutions, imagery, doctrines, colonial styles, and vocabulary (Smith 1999).

⁹A feminist component in methodology that will be further explained in the Feminist Methodology section

tions of the ‘other’ and exploitation of Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999). Scientific methods, anthropological observational methods, geography methods, and many others have all partaken in imperialist and colonial operations that have authorized preconceived theories of race, conservation, gender, and other elements (Louis 2007; Smith 1999). As explained by Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, these conventional research methods are threatening (to Indigenous peoples) because they deny the validity of Indigenous peoples’ right to existence, land and territory, self-determination, traditional ways of understanding and speaking, as well as access to resources (Smith 1999). Although academic institutions enforce IRB processes to protect human subjects amongst research, I could not ignore the past harm projected upon Indigenous communities by research models that are still practiced amongst the research community. By applying Indigenous methodologies one is challenging Western research paradigms and is creating an opportunity for Indigenous priorities and epistemologies to be recognized as valid (Louis 2007; Smith 1999). An Indigenous approach to methodology is in harmony with my self-identity and creates a space for increased integrity and accountability amongst my research. In addition to an Indigenous approach to methodology, another framework is applied for the recognition of the emotionality embedded in the context of this work.

Exploitative research has resulted in many Indigenous communities being rightfully reluctant to partake in academic research. My father is a health director of a tribe and he often teaches me the importance of protecting tribal data from any entity or institution, outside of the reservation. My father has first handedly experienced non-Native healthcare providers and scholars releasing private tribal information, which has resulted

in stigma and ultimately disregard for tribal sovereignty. Understanding the critical stature of tribal data sovereignty, using empirical quantitative tribal data¹⁰ would be incredibly difficult to come by as tribes rarely release collected (tribal) data (even to their own tribal members like me), specifically when pertaining to sensitive issues. I had to choose a collective framework that did not jeopardize tribal sovereignty, but that simultaneously gave voice to the tribal members I would be interviewing. In addition to the Indigenous approach to methodology, feminist methodology creates a nontraditional paradigm that allows for voiced experiences to be revered.

Feminist Methodology

Feminist social science establishes “women’s lived experiences as sources of knowledge,” whether those experiences be everyday or exceptional (Campbell, Wasco 2000). Such narrative knowledge is worthy of analysis for the understanding of social relationships (Campbell, Wasco 2000). Feminist methodologies channel the analysis of experiential knowledge by simultaneously reflecting ethical positionality and reverence (Campbell, Wasco 2000; Sultana 2007). To reference positionality is to regard participatory ethics in research (Sultana 2007,). Farhana Sultana explains the importance of recognizing reflexivity, positionality, and power relations in the field in order to sustain participatory ethical research (Sultana 2007). Utilizing feminist methodologies critically allows for reflexive research by underlining non-hierarchical communications, awareness,

¹⁰ Data owned by the tribe, like tribal police records of violence against women. To ask for this data in the first place would be bold and would automatically create a barrier between me and the tribal entity.

and mutual contexts through accountable research questions and data collection (Sultana 2007). Feminist frameworks analyze disproportionate power relations between the research participants and the researcher, which can be represented through reflections of the self and the processes of research (Suntana 2007).

During my entire academic experience, I have been trained to write according to the strict conventions of the discipline of international relations (IR), which often neglects self-reflection in order to construct unbiased work. Subjecting myself to a narrow IR perspective consequently left me in a writing state where citing and examining my own personal experiences involving Indigenous issues was viewed as ‘non-academic’ and of little value. If I did convey a personal experience, the “I slots” were left out in order to confirm ‘valid’ arguments. Rather than forsake realities and biases, feminist advances analyze positional biases present in the experiences of the research. Such practices enable the presence of emotionality as established knowledge (Campbell, Wasco 2000).

Indigenous Approach to Methodology; Conversational Method

Historically research methods did not embody Indigenous knowledge, community, nor cultural values when concerning the study of Indigenous communities (Drawson, A.S., Toombs, 2017; Smith 1999; Louis 2007). Initiating an Indigenous approach to methodology allows for a space of certainty for Indigenous research issues to be conducted in a further ethical, respectful, sympathetic, beneficial manner seen specifically from the perspective of Indigenous peoples (Porsanger 2010; Smith 1999). Implementing Indigenous methodology acts as resistance through research by specifically using a decolo

nization process and self-determination characteristics (Porsanger 2010; Smith 1999). A decolonization process embodies a collection of Indigenous theoretical advancements of methods, rules, and presumptions engaged by Indigenous research in the study of Indigenous peoples (Porsanger 2010; Smith 1999).

Characteristics of Indigenous methodology include: a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the participant, the inclusion of Indigenous peoples as participants and not as objects, the preservation of Indigenous knowledge¹¹, embodying the relational as part of the methodology and not as a bias that should be left outside methodology, and lastly to privilege Indigenous voices, peoples, and land (Kovach 2010) (Smith 1999). Indigenous methodology should be a collaborative process between the interviewer and participant in order to build a sense of trust during the interview (Kovach 2010; Smith 1999).

Such a Indigenous methodology can be conveyed through the conversational method (Kovach 2010). The conversational method entails the assembling of knowledge based on oral story telling tradition coinciding with a ‘relational Indigenous paradigm’ (Kovach 2010). The stories shared are cultural, traditional, spiritual, educational, and political which mirrors Indigenous methodology (Kovach 2010; Smith 1999). The conversational method creates holistic interactions that invoke a technique for reflections evoking the spiritual, emotional, physical, and mental (Kovach 2010). The researcher themselves is an active participant and becomes engaged in the conversation

¹¹Drawing on the historical, social, and political factors that shape Indigenous experiences, existence, orientations, and futures (Kovach 2010).”

with one's own stories (Kovach 2010). A conversational process is characterized by informality and flexibility which is appropriate for the surroundings where the interview will be held (Kovach 2010). The conversational method can be equivalent to "visiting¹²".

Connecting with Interviewees

Unlike many researchers excited about beginning their research interviews, the word 'exciting' did not immediately describe my emotions. I was nervous about the stories I was going to hear and of possible backlash from tribal members who would interpret me as 'the other'. I had told a few of my closest family members of my research before arriving on the reservation and they helped me with establishing interview relationships. Therefore, the primary method I relied on was snowball sampling. The interactions were more so conversations than formal interviews, as I was sharing my relatable background and thoughts. Present amongst discussions was a guided questionnaire consisting of open-ended questions that led the conversation (see appendix for questionnaire).

My fieldwork was broken up between two different trips; June 2018 and September 2018. Each trip was a week long and took part between three months of each other. In congruence with the conversational method I also planned for the interviews to be informal and flexible to one's comfortability. I heavily relied on family members for establishing potential interview relationships, but was able to form some interviews on my

¹² Many Native peoples use this term to describe the exchange of stories, gossip, and informal communication. Visiting is rooted in Native culture and is a symbol of endearment, as we are never too absorbed with a business as usual lifestyle to not take time and listen to our family, friends, and relations.

own by going into tribal buildings and asking the front desk if anyone would be willing to give time for a interview concerning my research.

At the end of my interviews I gave my interviewees sage or tobacco depending if they were male or female. I also gave interviewees deer eye necklaces or a small Native gift from the Southwest region. Deer eye necklaces are significant to the Yaquis and act as protectants of evil spirits. These bestowals symbolized the care and dedication to my topic and to the stories shared with me. The sage, tobacco, and deer eye necklaces are specifically sacred and reinforce that I would use the knowledge I had acquired in a good way. The offerings I gave also bounded me to hold responsibility amongst my research in the utmost respectful manner.

Data Collection

Qualitative techniques were used to gather knowledge, as any specific quantitative data from the tribe concerning violence against women would be incredibly arduous and I would not feel comfortable asking for such data. Using feminist methodology does not entail that those who identify as male are left out of the context of one's work. Although I desire to understand how Native women are socially affected by the recent oil boom in the Bakken, I interviewed both female and male Natives because men have daughters, wives, sisters, aunties, etc. and can contribute to experience by their association to women. Most of my interviews were from the tribal members specific to the Northern Plains Reservation I was on, but four of my interviewees were from other Na

tive tribes. Those four people enrolled in another tribe specifically came to the Northern Plains Reservation for employment opportunities.

Overall, twenty-two interviews would be the final count in my research. The first part of my fieldwork consisted of eight interviews and the second portion consisted of thirteen interviews. All of my interviews were anonymous and I used pseudonyms to organize the material. The reservation is almost one million acres and is sectioned into divisions; I was able to talk to residents/tribal members from five of the six divisions. Those who work in the oil industry, tribal employees in varying departments, tribal retirees, stay-at home Native parents, tribal members who grew up on the reservation but had recently relocated, and beneficiaries of oil royalties were amongst the pool of interviews. Specific tribal departments will go unnamed, as the community and some departments are small enough to distinguish individuals, especially those I am related to. Six of the twenty-two interviews were my relatives, which could have hindered the depth of responses or alternatively could have accommodated comfortability.

Recording and Interpreting Data

Some of the interviews were recorded using an audio recorder. For many, the audio recording felt invasive, therefore written notes during the interview and immediate reflection after the interview was utilized. The locations of the interviews varied according to the participant's convenience. Homes, offices, and quiet lobby settings were the most common environments. I ensured those interviewed that their identity would be kept

confidential, they could stop the discussion at any time and answer only the questions they were at ease with. Finally I explained their information would be diminished once the thesis is complete and I would share the completed thesis to those who wished to read it.

To further keep in compliance with the tribe's sovereignty especially with regards to tribal data, I have not identified the tribe. I am instead referring to the tribe by the larger regions it is apart of. These regions can be identified as at the Northern Great Plains and the Bakken, which are used interchangeably in this thesis. Interviewees are described as male or female tribal members, or of another affiliated tribe. Upon completing my interview processes, I transcribed each audio interview and typed interview responses and notes. I analyzed the data with a concentration on themes that surfaced from the discussions. I classified interviews into groups of similar themes and opinions, such as whether or not women were included in the decision to bring oil development to the reservation.

Limitations

My relatively short research experience in the field was a consequence of limited finances and time. Further interviews and time spent in the Bakken could have strengthened the findings and conclusions, although I would highlight that since the production of shale extraction, cost of living and travel to this rural area has skyrocketed. I was unable to interview tribal members younger than the age of twenty-eight and I recognize this as limitation in my work. Young people also experience the violent effects of the oil-boom

and having access to these perspectives would have contributed to a more representative body of work.

Those who sat on the tribal council during the time of my research trips were not able to be interviewed because many of them were out of town for regional meetings. The director of the women's shelter was also out of town during my time on the reservation. Having interviews from these two entities, which are critical to tribal leadership and are aware of the issues specific to the community, would have added additional insights and opinions to my research project.

In conclusion, though I conducted interviews with tribal members from different divisions, they currently resided in the divisions where oil production was present. Not all divisions have oil development and thus can be affected by the development differently. Having discussion with those that still reside in the divisions without oil production could have allowed for different perspectives regarding the effects of oil.

Positionality

Sultana (2007) explains that reflectivity is not a practice of self-indulge, but rather being reflexive about one's own positionality and acknowledging one's insertion in frameworks of power relations and how that influences methods, interpretation, and knowledge production (Sultana 2007). To understand my positionality in relation to my research, an explanation of my identity and upbringing is imperative. I am affiliated with three tribes; a Southwest tribe and two different Northern Plains tribes, one of whom is where I conducted my fieldwork. I was born in Montana and raised on my mother's ma

ternal reservation until I was three and then moved to Tucson, Arizona where my dad's people originated. In Tucson I lived in Old Pascua¹³ where I learned the Yaqui ways, although my mom would take me back to her reservation every summer to keep me connected with our family and culture in the north. I can remember going to my mother's paternal reservation a handful of times when I was younger and meeting my grandmas, aunts, and cousins who were related by way of my grandfather. I give a synopsis of my childhood to highlight that of all the three tribes I am affiliated with, my grandfather's tribe is the one I am least familiar with, until recently. Within the last two years family reunions during pow wow season have become an annual event. By way of family reunions I have gotten closer with my grandfather's family, some of whom benefit from oil royalties, and I was able to interview some of them. Due to my kindred relationship with the tribe, there are obvious biases that are associated with my work, but I wish to embrace those biases rather than disregard them. Embracing biases are principles in the two methodological frameworks I have previously discussed.

Another vital component of my identity that influences my positionality is what Natives characterize as being an 'urban Indian'. In spite of living in Old Pascua for most of my childhood and attending the village's ceremonial proceedings, I did not attend elementary school in the village as my parents used my nana's address for access to a higher

¹³ Old Pascua, also known as 'the village', is a Yaqui community in central Tucson. The Yaqui people were not federally recognized until the late 1970s and thus were not entitled to tribal land, known as Indian reservations, until federal recognition. Because the Yaqui people did not initially possess a reservation in Tucson, Yaqui villages were prevalent around the city.

ranked school district. I attended an incredibly small liberal charter middle school¹⁴ minutes away from the University of Arizona, and my high school education consisted of a college preparatory private catholic school. To conclude, I never had an education where there was greater than one percent of Native students amongst the school, that includes my undergraduate and graduate studies. When Natives are raised in a city or urbanized area, such as I was, there is often a negative connotation of struggle to maintain Native identities in an urban space, in comparison to be raised on ancestral lands or reservations (Furlan 2017). The semantics of an urban Indian, can be explained by Laura M. Furlan as not only ‘Native narratives of despair and dislocation, but visioning a cultural past identified with ancestral lands/ or a reservation and a present that require the making and re-making of Native bonds and communities’ (Furlan 2017). This notion of an urban Indian and my personal education experiences created both an insider and outsider complex similar to the research experience Farina Sultana had in Bangladesh (Sultana 2007). Below is an excerpt from one of my journal entries while in the field. The excerpt examines the insider, outsider complex through a conversation I had with an interviewee.

“I was nervous about doing my research here because in way I am an outsider, but I’m surprised by the embracement and willingness to have a discussion with me.” “Yeah but you are Native, and thats important that the narrative is coming from someone connected, rather than a non-native.”

I had only one encounter where I felt my authenticity was being questioned. I was in the middle of an interview and a woman needed to come into the office for a sig

¹⁴ Paulo Freire Freedom School. The middle school’s creative foundation is parallel to Paulo Freire’s radically different way to look at learning. To be fully engaged with learning, Freire understood that the learner must own the process and be an active agent in the learning practice.

nature, as she waited I was told to explain my thesis to her. She seemed less than enthused and asked who I was interviewing, concerned if they were tribal members or not. She raised her eyebrows and left the office with her last words being “oh.” The woman’s demeanor was refreshing, her carried warrior like spirit ignited a self-reflection. I recognized that despite experiencing the gawking of men oil workers in my hotel, the paranoid wait as I pumped gas alone, the tight griped drives in dangerous traffic, and overwhelmingly being outnumbered by men, I would be leaving this environment soon. I have the privilege to not encounter such daily cautions once I arrived home in Tucson, and simultaneously have the privilege to return and engage with my ancestral culture and people of the Northern Great Plains.

Lastly, my exterior self and kin relationship to the community were contributors to the success I was able to achieve with the collection of my interviews. My mother who is fair skinned, with silver straight hair, and blue eyes has been a spiritual mentor and equal, although she would never describe herself as such, to many of her brothers, sisters, and family friends. She is more spiritually/ceremonially connected than I am, yet I have witnessed other Natives question her Indian-ness based upon her physical exterior. I have brown eyes, dark straight hair, tanned brown skin, and almost have never been questioned (by other Natives) on my Indian-ness by my physical exterior. My external appearance allowed for initial comfortability upon my extension for interviews, as I pass for an ‘acceptable’ form of Indian(ness). Many of my interviewees knew of family, or at least of the family last name, which also forged a sense of familiarity that allowed for easement of the interview.

Chapter IV:

Findings: Self-Determination and Survival

“Besides, settler and Indigenous peoples are the ‘peoples of sovereignty’ only in a sense that one’s sovereignty is asserted as the other is denied.”

(Veracini 2016: 253)

“It is a universe that is beset with jurisdictional, social, and economic problems. But it is also the universe that encompasses our lives as Indian people, and it is what unites us, inspires us, gives us hope that there is a future as Indian nations will define the terms of our existence in the twenty-first century.”

(Coffey, Tsosie 2001: 191)

“Rather than adopt the strategy of fighting for sovereignty first, then improve Native women’s status second, we must understand attacks on Native women’s statuses are themselves attacks on Native sovereignty.”

(Smith 2005: 123)

Self-Determination: Bodies, Land, and Shock

The UN General Assembly (2007) adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007. In Article 3 of the Declaration, ‘Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination’ (General Assembly 2007). Despite legal doctrines recognizing Indigenous peoples as distinct sovereign entities or nations, the threat to self-determination continuously reoccurs at the forefront of Indigenous issues. Notably the ordained implementation of pipelines on sacred lands, obstructed rights of access to natural resources, and the challenge of placement for Native children within foster care and adoptive services are all examples of the serious threats to self-determination. Indigenous self-determination can be embraced as the collective power or ability of choice within cultural existence of land, identity, and history positioned in a larger bureaucratic society (Coffey, Tsosie 2001). This Indigenous self-determination can often be

coined as tribal sovereignty in the United States and is referenced to governmental power (Deer 2015).

To comprehend self-determination (sovereignty) in a minimal legal context between the United States government and Indian Tribes, an excerpt is used from legal scholar Gregory Ablavsky.

“Few words dominate federal Indian law more than the term ‘sovereignty.’ Though it is not a Native term, Native nations have adopted it to express deeply felt but oft-denied rights of autonomy, while in doctrine ‘sovereignty’ has become a term of art for adjudicating jurisdictional disputes (Ablavsky 2015).”

As exemplified in this quote, sovereignty is a term that is particular to U.S. law and ultimately allows for jurisdictional limitations between both the parties. The use of sovereignty in conjunction with federal Indian law, and ultimately with Indian tribes, exemplifies the inherent right Indian tribes have to self-determination or self-governance. Tribal sovereignty also entails that a tribal entity has obligations to protect its citizens from abusive power (Deer 2015). The ability (self-determination) to protect and serve tribal citizens has been systemically stripped from tribal nations by the federal government and has consequently left tribes without effective legal atonement for their harmed citizens (Deer 2015).

Under federal Indian law, tribes are sovereign nations that may exercise full jurisdiction in these three contexts: territorial, personal, and subject matter (Deer 2015).

Therefore if crimes were committed on Indian territorial lands then tribal governments would assume criminal jurisdiction (Fletcher 2014). Though such tribal legal authority would be lessened by a landmark case. The background of the comings of the landmark

case was due to Oliphant, a non-Native, who was charged on drunken disorderly conduct during an annual ceremonial gathering on Suquamish lands¹⁵ (Champagne 2012). This case was then pushed to the Supreme Court and what is now the 1978 Supreme Court case of *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*. The Supreme Court ruled Indian tribes do not have inherent criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians and may not assume criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians unless Congress manifests the ability (self-determination) to do so (Perry 2018). The case essentially prohibits accountability of crimes committed by non-Natives in Indian Country and withholds self-determination rights of Native tribes to protect their over-victimized citizens. Amongst the ruling, only federal prosecutors engage criminal prosecution on Indian land, meaning that the federal government is in charge of criminal cases concerning non-Native and tribal parties or individuals (Perry 2018). Such jurisdictional responsibility of federal prosecutors is often criticized as criminal cases concerning violence against Native women are withheld and non-Native perpetrators are free of conviction or any restitution for their crimes. The lack of investigation of violence against Native women is evident when concerning though not limited to, rape cases, as in 2011 the U.S. Justice Department withheld prosecution of 65 percent of reported rape cases on reservations (Crane-Murdoch 2013). In relation to the dysfunctional legal framework of criminal jurisdiction in Indian country, during my fieldwork I did an interview where one woman stated the issues on the Northern Plains Reservation concerning the jurisdictional injustices and how justice was difficult to service.

¹⁵ The Suquamish is a federally recognized Indian tribe in Washington.

“Because the reservation is on six different counties, jurisdictional provisions prevent us from doing our job and convicting criminals. I remember one situation where we were called in for a dispute between a couple and I witnessed a physical altercation between both the woman and man. But the woman was left with a fractured jaw by a kick across the face, while the guy had a few scratches on him. The woman was an enrolled tribal member and the guy had told us that he was tribal as well. Turns out he lied and was non-tribal (as well as non-Native). We had to call and wait for state police to show up, which resulted in little to no assault conviction because of the differing stances on assault between jurisdictions. If I hadn’t made personal calls to several deputies informing them of what I witnessed, nothing probably would have become of that case, but he was convicted of assault.”

-Native woman enrolled in a different tribe but works for the Northern Plains Tribe

Though tribal sovereignty often perpetuates a collective epistemology of dignified rights in comparison to individualistic legal virtues, Indigenous women and their determination of their bodies are too often violated with no reparations. Indigenous women are repeatedly left out of the collective, due to jurisdictional rulings and other legal frameworks, and forced amongst individual western legal discourse that rarely preserves their sacredness (Deer 2016). As referenced in Chapter II of the Settler Colonialism section and in the Biopolitics section, violent acts against Native women are perpetuated by existing legal structures that are set into existence to protect citizens, though they do the opposite and authorize oppression. This authorization is manifested through a history of legal misconduct from the federal government towards Native women.

In 1862 during the U.S. Dakota War in Minnesota (Sioux Uprising) there are records that the war was partially initiated due to the Office of Indian Affairs’ (U.S. government) ‘failure to investigate charges of miss treatment of Indian women by white men (Deer 2015).’ Additionally a Dakota warrior, Jerome big Eagle, spoke to an author in

1894 and said previous to the uprising, “some of the white men abused the Indian women in a certain way and disgraced them, and surely there was no excuse for that (Deer 2015).” Legal scholar, Sarah Deer, explains through the U.S. Dakota War that Native women have been failed by the justice system and perpetrated to the fullest extent. Deer (2015) also addresses the history of Amanda’s Trail, a hiking trail in the coastal Yachats, Oregon, where a Coos woman was kidnapped and forced to travel eighty miles on jagged rocks by the U.S. Cavalry in the 1850’s. Amanda had cuts on her feet that left a “trail of blood in her wake” (Deer 2015). Amanda’s heart wrenching story was due to the cavalry’s efforts to clear Coos peoples’ free existence in the borders of Oregon (Deer 2015). The state of Oregon at the time had criminalized assault and abduction though Amanda was given no legal consideration of her humanity and dignity (Deer 2015). Once again, a Native woman’s oppression was authorized by the law and ultimately the U.S. government.

Bodies

A recent statistic states that the majority (96%) of sexual violence experienced by American Indian and Alaskan Native females, was perpetrated by non-Native individuals (NCAI 2018). In 2016, 5,712 American Indian women were reported missing and in general American Indian women and girls are reported missing at a disproportionately high rate compared with most other demographics (UIHI 2016). On some reservations Native women are murdered more than ten times the national average (indianlaw.org). These

horrific statistics usually do not include cases that go unreported, leaving many to believe these violent rates to be higher.

The high volume of violent crimes committed by non-Native perpetrators upon Native women led to a provision regarding the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). In 2013 Congress legitimized VAWA to allow limited criminal jurisdiction to tribal courts over domestic violence, dating violence, and violations of protection order where by one of the constituents is Indian (Perry 2018). VAWA does not apply to sexual assault taken place outside the tribe's jurisdiction and the defendant must have 'sufficient ties'¹⁶ to the tribe (Perry 2018). Tribal enactment of VAWA was intended to reduce sexual violence in Indian country¹⁷, in regards to non-Native perpetrators, such ability created some reclamation of self-determinate authority over crimes in tribal jurisdiction (Perry 2018). However there are limitations of protections under this legal proclamation. VAWA does not aid women on reservations attacked by men who are not their partners or crimes against Native women off reservation (Perry 2018). As of December 2017 only 16 out of 500 plus tribes have access to domestic violence criminal jurisdiction over non-Indian offenders (Perry 2018). This relatively small pool is due to the Department of Justice's (DOJ) process requirements of tribal courts to closely parallel themselves with federal court sys

¹⁶ "The non-Indian defendant must either live in the Indian country of the participating tribe; be employed within the Indian country of the participating tribe; or be a spouse, intimate partner, or dating partner of a tribal member or of an Indian who resides within the Indian country of the participating tribe (Perry 2018, 55)."

¹⁷ "The term Indian country is most usefully defined as 'country within which Indian laws and customs and federal law relating to Indians are generally applicable (Horse 2005).' This definition includes all territory owned or controlled by Native Americans and Alaska Natives (Horse 2005)."

tems (Perry 2018). Such exclusions and resource capability has left many tribes, like the Northern Plains tribe, and individuals to exercise (or the inability to exercise) reparations in some other legal or social form. In one interview, a tribal member goes into detail about her concerns with the tribe's criminal jurisdiction over non-Natives.

“It's hard here to try non-Natives, we don't house non-Natives here (meaning correctional housing) and if they pull you over on the reservation they ask if you are Native, or what tribe you're from, or if you're enrolled. That's just a jurisdiction issue and I believe they're working with the county to be crossed-deputized, for here too (division where we are meeting). But overall I feel like that (crossed-deputization) is probably a good choice because we wouldn't be able to house non-Natives if they ever have to stay a long time in jail. The jail only houses up to 80 adults. I am not for taking in non-Natives only because I don't think our tribe would be able to handle it. I believe there would be a lot more legal issues with them.”

-Female Enrolled Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

Limited resources, such as inmate housing and number of police, have forced the tribe to take an alternative legal route for criminal conviction and accountability. The crossed-deputization of counties would entail that counties must collectively collaborate on legal issues, but six counties present on the reservation could make efficient collective policing a challenge. The tribe also introduced a legal provision over human-trafficking, but due to rights of jurisdiction the provision was unable to be implemented.

Though traditional gender roles vary by tribes and arguably can fluctuate by context, men of the Northern Plains Tribes are often referred to as warriors and were given the privilege to physically protect the most sacred and vulnerable populations amongst the community: women and children (Blackwood 1984). The social form of gender roles, rather than hierarchical, were allocations of sex based tasks customary for a system of 'reciprocity that assured the interdependence of sexes' and established women as sacred

(Blackwood 1984). Continual colonial instances of pillaging, cultural shame, and termination enforced by the U.S. government halted such roles especially in relation to the protection of women. The consequential historical trauma and the inability to self-determine the protection and atonement (legal or social) in tribal communities is evident amongst the Northern Plains Reservation in the Bakken region. During a conversational interview with a male tribal member, he describes how his protective role in the community was altered by the influx of strangers.

“Man when the oil hit and everything happened, you walked into some of the haunts, the places you'd been, and you'd walk into one bar and you don't recognize anybody in the bar, and you knew everybody in the bar (before). The other thing I didn't like and this happened to me, when I allegedly dated, was when the oil was going on full tail. There was a lot of shit going on where these men weren't able to pick up any women on their own, so they were pack hunting; in super markets, in bars. And what I meant by that (pack hunting) is that you're here with me and we're sitting here and a table of five or six guys are over there and they keep talking to you. 'What are you with that guy? How come you're doing that with that guy? You should be with us, you should come over to us.' Of course me being a man you are free to do whatever you want you know, whatever we have as friends dating you can do whatever you want. But if you did decide to go, you might end up being with all five, not just one. It would be just one drawing you over. You couldn't as a man protect who you were with because these punk kids are hanging around with five or six and you're only one. That's not a good feeling.”

-Male Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

With men traditionally being physical protectors of women in the community, the large influx of outsiders has disrupted traditional ways of life. In addition to women's safety, the safety of men also come into question. Social protection, like legal protection, from perpetrators is limited amongst the Native community.

Land

Over 500 treaties were signed with American Indian tribes in response to ending the Indian Wars, the treaties mainly consisted of subjugating ancestral land for capitalist processes. Treaties established limited tribal rights for use of the land and recognized tribes as sovereign nations. Despite the supreme law¹⁸ recognition of the Northern Plains Reservation, via the *1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie*, land reductions by way of executive orders were present in 1870 and 1880 (Russell 2000). By 1944, several large earthen dams were constructed on the Missouri River, displacing several Northern Great Plains tribes, including where my project was conducted (Ornelas 2011). Several of my interviewees in my fieldwork mentioned the dam with heartbreak. Presenting a detailed understanding of the dam's history, as well as its permanent consequences to the tribe, would allow for greater understanding of this desolation and the resemblance between the implementation of the dam and the implementation of shale oil extraction.

The US Army Corps of Engineers mapped out a plan of several dams in just under 90 days (Russell 2000). This plan would allow for the flooding of reservations¹⁹ and sacred lands to be 'legalized' under the *1944 Flood Control Act* (Russell 2000). The project was developed despite the opposition of the Northern Great Plains tribes. This violence on the land, as the flooding radically altered the surrounding ecosystems, would be a lasting devastation to the Northern Plains Native communities (Russell 2000). The dams'

¹⁸ "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding (U.S. Constitution)." -The Supremacy Clause, Article VI, Clause 2 of the United States Constitution

¹⁹ Which included hundreds of thousands of fertile farm land that Native peoples lived off.

processes generated substantial cultural, ecological, and social sacrifices (Russell 2000).

The dammed devastation to the the tribes can be further reflected by the following statement spoken at the 1961 American Indian Conference held in Chicago (AINC) (Russell 2000).

“When our lands are taken for a declared public project, scattering our people and threatening our continual existence, it grieves us to be told that money payment is the equivalent of all the things we surrender. Our forefathers could be generous when all the continent was theirs, they could cast away whole empires for a handful of trinkets for their children. But in our day, each remaining acre is a promise that we will still be here tomorrow. Were we paid a thousand times the market value of our lost holding, still these payments would not suffice. Money never mothered the Indian people, as the land has mothered them, nor have any people become more closely attached to the land, religiously and traditionally (Russell 2000).”

The AINC quote signifies settler colonial discourse, as the land was taken, destroyed, and then replaced. The dam (public project) was another addition to the eliminatory structure that settlers have repeatedly positioned upon Indigenous peoples. The Northern Plains Reservation was forced into renouncing their rights to their ancestral land²⁰ and acceptance to authorized payments because they refused the land being offered in forcible exchange (Russell 2000). The chairman at the time was in tears as he signed the ‘agreement’. The chairman later stated the dam was going to be built despite the signing agreement and the only option left was to get as “ liberal settlement out of Congress as possible (Russell 2000).” The evident perpetuation of encroachment (via of broken treaties) on the Northern Great Plains Reservation undermined the tribe’s right to self-determination of territorial land. Similar enforced violence on reservation land would be mirrored in Bakken.

²⁰ This land was suppose to be protected, by sovereignty, under the Fort Laramie treaty.

In Chapter I, I briefly mention that the Northern Plains Reservation only sits on a portion of the Bakken shale. Settler individuals, governments, and all others that have either mineral or land rights to the shale region and are all able to lease their minerals (oil) to corporations for royalty income. The Northern Plains Reservation specifically is ‘checker-boarded’, meaning there is non-tribal (non-Native) and tribal land owners because settlers were allowed (owned) land at one point on the reservation. In addition the *General Allotment Act (Dawes Act)* broke up reservation ‘trust lands²¹’ into individual allotment plots which were allocated to selective (individual) tribal members (Russell 2000). Individual tribal allottees had mineral rights to their land, again allowing them to lease their minerals (if there were any) or land in exchange for income. With both settlers and tribal allottees (individuals) able to allow some degree of shale extraction on and near the reservation, the consequences of oil extraction would have been felt by the community regardless if the tribe itself authorized oil extraction on the reservation. Again, as the Northern Plains Reservation is surrounded by the greater Bakken region, where construction of shale extraction had already started, oil-boom towns (near the reservation) were already building man-camps in preparation for the (mostly male) workers. During two of my interviews I came across a theme of ‘forced will’ when concerning the permission of extractive activity on the reservation.

“I had an oil consultation with this guy and he came in and wanted to drill a well (on the reservation) and I said well wait we have processes and regulations. And he said well I can either do it here (meaning the tribe could benefit) or right on the borderline of

²¹ “Defined as acreage with the title of being held by the U.S. government ‘in trust’ while granting full-utilization by a sovereign, Indian peoples. (Russell 2000).”

the reservation (the tribe would not benefit and have less regulated drilling happening nearby). He was right.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

“We couldn’t ignore it, because we are here in the middle of this (oil) production, we started to become a donut and all the while people are on the outside land (non-Natives and corporations benefitting).”

-Male Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

The first quotation exemplifies the determination to frack the land, allowing for the shale oil most likely coming from tribal lands, due to the pressure of water reaching a general reserve despite being off the reservation. Like the governmental enforced dams, many oil companies were going to extract oil (on and surrounding the reservation) with or without the consent of the (collective) tribe. This violent colonial structure (the U.S. government who authorized fracking and horizontal drilling) once more operated a structure that would destroy to replace. The second quotation illustrates a picture of the reservation and the dilemma the tribe would face when surrounded by extractive activity. The tribe essentially had to decide if they were going to financially benefit from the extractive processes surrounding them. By the tribe validating shale extraction, they became a powerful actor in the Bakken oil industry. Such positioning, in an unconventional way, interrupted an extractive corporate practice, that once was only beneficial to settlers. In addition amongst a remote region, the reservation’s attractions of the tribal casino, restaurant and bars, the lake, and camping sites also provided outsider activity. To conclude, there was always going to be violence (oil extraction) placed on the land, without the concern of tribal perspective, it was just a matter if the tribe would be able to self-determine the relationship with their land and benefit this time.

Shock

Amongst almost every interview I did in my fieldwork, there was reference to a ‘shock’ that hit the community and these shocks were often in opposition to the tribe’s ability to self-determine the protection (both legal and social protection) of the community. The shocks could be described as: the influx of outsiders present on and around the reservation, the amount of illegal activity happening on and near the reservation, the increase of crimes against Native peoples, the amount of dangerous traffic, and the difficulty to regulate an industry in what seemed to happen overnight. The rural location of the Bakken area was an area already beyond its means in police (both non-tribal and tribal) patrolling, with city-like crime flooding into the community, any ability to efficiently regulate the industry was unattainable. Where large migrations of men have been present, such as American soldiers in the Pacific Islands of WWI, exploited women have generally been forced to serve these populations. A tribal member explained to me that although the tribe knew of this phenomena, the tribe never thought the issue would be as out of control as it once was.

“There is the white world of understanding of how things go, and there is money to be made in every aspect. You see it from the old movies where you see they are building trains, or their going to war. They have those people that are preparing and selling food and you have those people that have brought a brothel to take care of getting money from the soldiers who are screwing. So all of that comes along, its not like historically we don’t get it, but its just like for us in our own naive way, we were not prepared for the overwhelming amount that came in. We were not prepared for our people to sink to that low. That never crossed our minds. So how do you prepare for something like that?

-Male Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

The understanding of the shocks prevalent on the reservation are due to a larger context. Larger questions came into mind; why was shale extraction introduced not just to the reservation, but the larger Bakken region and the United States? Where was power being allocated in the greater perspective? I lightly touch on these topics in Chapter I as I introduce U.S. shale extraction and its influence in the globalized market, as well as in Chapter II amidst the discussion of Naomi Klein's ideology of a shock doctrine.

The Great Recession of 2008 was a disastrous crisis that began with the bust of the housing market. The collective trauma felt across the United States was a crisis that would soon be able to produce change in extractive development. Corporate pressures for the utilization of hydraulic fracking (technology used for shale extraction) was claimed by many as the savior or 'real change' to foreign oil dependency and the Great Recession (Twomey, Farias, and Harris 2016). The implementation of unconventional oil production (shale extraction) was passed in legislation under deregulatory policies and protections (Twomey, Farias, and Harris 2016). The authorization of hydraulic fracking, and ultimately shale oil extraction, would allow the U.S. to hold influence in the shale extraction industry, thus be able to respond to changing oil global market prices. Shale oil extraction would be further pressured in the U.S. for the sake of the collective society that was in a disastrous state after the Great Recession. Hydraulic fracking was then introduced to the Bakken region, where not only the land is perpetrated, but also where Native bodies are being violated and exploited in the process of the shale oil industry. As highlighted in throughout the text, women and the land share oppressive measures of destruction, a destruction that is embedded in settler colonial practices. In relation to Foucault's under

standings of biopolitics, Native women are being sacrificed for society's collective betterment of American political power. American society may enjoy the benefits of employment fostered by oil, affordable oil prices in comparison to some European countries, and financial opportunity oil investments are able to provide in exchange for sacrificed Native bodies that encounter violence through extractive operations. The American government specifically does not have to make as many compromises with OPEC nations, as the U.S. is now less dependent on foreign oil, this is made possible by the oil industry's exploitative nature of Native women.

An excerpt from an interview during my fieldwork mentioned the shocks being a second flooding (of outsiders) inflicted upon the tribe, in comparison to the dam flooding.

“We were struggling to catch up or understand (the oil development) and it was just like a wave, again another flooding, that washed over the people. I think some people tried to do the best they could, but they were just not prepared. I mean if the state couldn't handle it (the crime and regulation of the oil industry) how could our small tribe handle it. You know the bureau (Bureau of Indian Affairs), their job is to protect and they didn't do that, they didn't do their due diligence.”

-Female Tribal Member

The above statement suggests the amount of crime experienced by tribal peoples and the overall oil industry, especially at the height of the boom, was overwhelming and regulation was unsuccessful, both by the state and the tribe. She explains that the small tribe accepted a responsibility with no viable support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S. government), even though treaties permit the government to protect aspects of Native life. She also references the state the reservation is located in, as the state had to have the federal government intervene and employ FBI security to help with incredible

amounts of crime spreading across the state. The tribe's pressured decision to allow for extractive activities in one way acted as self-determination, and yet simultaneously depleted self-determination for many Native women. As the tribe tries to criminalize dangerous actors and serve justice, the tribe is constantly interrupted by jurisdictional and bureaucratic constraints, another self-determination issue.

Survival: Poverty, Security at Risk, and Resilience

Indigenous survival has been tested many times by settler colonial perpetrators. Survival of the Northern Great Plains tribe came close to decimation by the logic of eliminatory structure. The smallpox epidemic of the Northern Great Plains in 1780 through 1782, continues to be historically remembered by many tribal members (Hodge 2009). Smallpox infected blankets and clothing were purposely distributed to Native tribes and First Nation peoples by English military officers, traders, and settlers when resistance was encountered over dispossession of land (Valencia-Weber 2003). The devastating microbes were used as a weapon of war and left some tribes along the Missouri River of the Northern Great Plains to be reduced by 75 to 80 percent (Hodge 2009). The annihilation scarred Indigenous peoples and can be further understood by the deathbed speech of a Great Plains chief.

“My friend and one and all listen to what I have to say—Ever since I can remember, I have loved the Whites, I have lived with them ever since I was a boy, and to the best of my knowledge, I have never wronged a White Man, on the contrary, I have always protected them from the insults of others, which they cannot deny. The never saw a White Man hungry, but what he gave him to eat, drink, and buffaloe skin to sleep on, in time of need. I was always ready to die for them, which they cannot deny. I have done everything

that a red skin could do for them, and how they repaid it! With ingratitude! I have never called a White Man a Dog, but today, I do Pronounce them to be a set of Black harted Dogs, they have deceived Me, them that I always considered as Brothers, has turned out to be My Worst enemies. I exhalt in, but to day I am Wounded, and by Whom, by those same White Dogs that I have always Considered, and treated as Brothers. I do not fear Death my friends. You Know it, but to die with my dace rotten, that even the Wolves will shrink with horror at seeing Me, and say, to themselves, that is the, the Friend of the Whites-

Listen well what I have to say, as it will be the last time you hear Me, think of your Wives, Children, Brothers, Sisters, Friends, and in fact all that you hold dear, are all Dead, Dying, with their daces all rotten, caused by those dogs the whites, think of all that My friends, and rise all together and Not leave one of them alive. The will act his Part (Meyer 1977).”

The unnatural changes to the environment have upset many of the tribal members, as the reservation, at times, does not feel like home. Many interviewees mentioned the amount of oil flares present on the reservation and how disturbing the fumes made the land look. The heavy traffic with semi trucks loaded with machinery, crude oil, and waste has jeopardized the community’s safety (survival) as they say the drivers do not know how to drive in the winter and have caused fatal accidents. Some tribal members are too scared to drive anymore with the heavy flow of dangerous traffic in such a rural area. If a car accident were to happen, the ambulance would take at least a half an hour for medical treatment in some cases, as the reservation is spread wide with limited medical resources. After almost every interview I had, at the end of our discussion the interviewee would tell me to drive safe and to watch out for the trucks. Many of the interviewees would also mention, as they knew I was not from the area, to not drive through a nearby town (off the reservation) as not only was ‘the traffic horrible, but the people (referring to the crime rate and recent abductions of women) were no good either.’ At the height of the oil-boom,

some tribal members that had sufficient funds to leave the reservation, did so because the dynamics of the community had changed so much and safety for survival became an issue. Native existence was again being challenged by the oil industry process.

A tribal member during an interview discussed with me how different everything was when she returned to the reservation after moving away for some time. She then discusses how the consequences of the shale oil boom created yet another operational oppression for the tribe.

“I drove there and I was just astounded by the truck traffic, it was overwhelming. I drove at the top of the mountain and saw all those trucks coming and going and I just cried because it was so different.

-Female Tribal Member

“All of our people, many of our people are wounded in different ways. All tribes are affected but our tribe in particular because we were hit with two waves of smallpox, and nearly decimated. And then the dam, and now this.”

-Female Tribal Member

The tribal member’s perspective on the oil development reflects not only on the extractive processes being the current oppositional structure against Native survival, but the tribal member also describes previous historical structures that have paved the way for extended violence against Native survival. Though the smallpox waves and dam construction did not happen at the same time, the history of each event consisted of violence, specifically against bodies (smallpox) and the land (the dam) that are both part of Native existence. Similarly, the extraction of shale oil (violence on the land) has permitted violence against bodies, specifically women’s bodies. The extractive development has created a violent space, where survival for Native women is lessened by violent measures.

Poverty

Before the financial benefits of oil royalties were present on the Northern Plains Reservation, almost all of my interviews referenced the issue of poverty as a critical determinant of bringing shale oil extraction on the reservation. The enforced dam on the reservation was the start to economic hardships for many. The flooding of the tribe's original community on the reservation had destroyed many earnings of a living. The tribe was well-known for their successful ranching and Native gardening, but as the flood destroyed fertile land and ranches, many Natives had to restart their way of living with little resources. The Northern Great Plains in general is a tough place to develop and live in, as winters get 50 below zero degrees and summers temperatures reach over 100 degrees. While discussing the reasons why the tribe authorized oil extraction, one interviewee stated the rural area has much to do with the decision.

“People can criticize the tribe, but we weren't like those big sophisticated tribes that are close to big urban areas or have resources or access to universities and all of that stuff. We are very remote.

-Female Tribal Member

Another woman I interviewed explained that the tribe was well over millions of dollars in debt due to the continual borrowing of money, as there was little opportunity and resources for development.

“I remember when before oil money, the tribe couldn't even pay their employees, they had to borrow money to pay tribal employees. The tribe was in debt over a million dollars, we were broke.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee/Ex Oil Worker

Economic hardships on the reservation fueled pressures to extract unconventional oil sources as a means for survival and self-sufficiency²². Benefits of oil royalties include better access to healthcare, possible retirement, college tuition for students, and the ability to leave the reservation in search of other opportunity. Uneven wealth disparities on the reservation left some to revert to dangerous illegal activity, which put many Native peoples, especially women, at risk. Stories of trafficking Native women were mentioned to me and again reverted to the issue of wealth inequality and not having the privilege of receiving oil royalties. To highlight such economic disparities, two stories were shared with me that give an idea of how the oil benefited some and left others in danger.

“Growing up we didn't have a lot of money, so I think what it came down to was a lot of people look at it as a money source. I'm sure a lot of people that work, you know work their tails off and are not getting a lot of money. They looked at it as a early retirement option. It's almost like a little lottery. A little lottery for them. That's how I look at it. But some families were fortunate while others are not.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

“A lot of these homes were in poverty and they looked at it like its easy money, working there. There were young girls at very young age that were trying to prostitute. Some of their friends would be like hey we went to this party and there were all these older guys there and some of them were cute and they were giving them money and some of these young girls are thinking you know my mom and dad don't really have money but these guys are handing it out. They don't realize the story behind it and what they actually have to do to get that money.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

For some the oil-boom created a space for financial security, while for those who were less fortunate, their health and consent over their bodies was in jeopardy as the last story explains that young girls can be unaware of the circumstances they are placed in.

²² Not dependent on the U.S. government.

Security at Risk

Of the women I interviewed, many explained the precautions they now have to take to survive, not just on the reservation, but also in certain areas of the state. Regulation overall seemed to be improving, both on and off the reservation. The tribe has established their own drug enforcement administration, department of transportation, and recovery center. Such tribal departments regulate critical areas that feed the addiction to illegal activity and crimes against Native peoples. Although during the height of the boom, little regulation was present and left many Native women in fear of their own homeland. Descriptions of some of the many precautions shared with me give detailed depictions of the bizarre, yet normalized actions women must take to protect themselves from harm.

“I always carry a flash light with me so that I can look in my car before I get in.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

“Yeah, like now I run with pepper spray and a knife just to be safe.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

“When abductions of women were happening, you knew not to park by vans.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

“Things were really bad for a while, you couldn't walk into or out of the casino by yourself. That's why we got the fence and dogs because drunks and addicts were sleeping in the yard and just anywhere because there was no housing.”

-Female Tribal Member

“Now I have cameras installed in my home because we do eventually now and then get strangers coming through the community. A couple years ago there was a guy coming through and he was taking pictures of children, and it was scary. After that I told my daughter you can't go and play today you have to stay at the house.”

-Female Tribal Member/Tribal Employee

These statements from interviews explain the state of fear many Native women felt at the height of the boom. At the time policing and monitoring was minimal in terms of the amount of people that were arriving in the Bakken. Native women had to implement their own security for their existence, health, and family. The inherent questioning of women's existence by the process of shale production is in relation to Michel Foucault's explanation of human existence in a biopolitical age.

Resilience

As important as it is to highlight the historical past and ongoing settler actualities, the Indigenous present and resilient discourse is critical in any Native narrative. Resilience is balanced by cultural morals that have prevailed through historical suffering as well by the renewal of Indigenous identities (Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshal, et al. 2011). Although the topic of this paper is heavy, I was able to spend some time with family and elders of the community and they spoke highly of the tribe's accomplishments, the strong knowledgeable women who are the backbone of the tribe, the youth as the new strong cultural leaders and ultimately the standing existence of the tribe. The resilience of the Northern Great Plains tribe can be represented by, though not limited to, the following statements from some of the produced interviews.

“These issues really are not new to our people, we have always encountered tragedy. But we survived and stayed resilient.”

-Male Tribal Member

“I have hope because of the spiritual community here. The spirits are so strong here, and now much of the youth are wanting to know the ways.”

-Male Tribal Member

The historical tragedies encountered by the Northern Plains Reservation are continually counter challenged with tribal language, powwow, ceremony, education, laughter, and merely presence on ancestral land. The reservation continues to produce large amounts of teachers, activists, lawyers, doctors, environmentalists, scientists, political leaders, journalists, healers, and many more ways of life that collectively contribute to a their community and extended communities. Historical oppression is important to highlight in any history, but there must also be a presence of perseverance of the oppressed community exhibited in order to balance the presentation.

Chapter VI:

Conclusion

Jessica²³ was a 32 year old woman of the Northern Great Plains tribe that went missing in October of 2017 (Keeler 2018). She was a loving mother of five and was characterized as a smart endearing spirit by all that knew and loved her. Her family had no idea where she had gone or what had exactly happened to her. Due to lack of jurisdictional provisions, as mentioned in Chapter V, tribal police were unable to investigate Jessica's disappearance because there was no crime scene (Keeler 2018). The Bureau of Indian Affairs then took over the case. After an traumatic nine month search, Jessica's body was found submerged in a truck in the lake on the reservation on July 31, 2018. I spent time with Jessica's family in late June of 2018. I remember walking into an office space where Jessica's family was conducting information for their searches and being completely overwhelmed by the work that they were doing on their own. The room was covered in digital maps of the reservation, nearby tables were filled with walkie-talkies along with a couple of drones that took aerial snapshots of the land, tons of documents filled the room, snacks and beverages were in the back to refuel their energies, lastly there were cots for those that were staying the night to continue investigation in the early morning. While I was there the main priority was to search the lake, but no water search had been started due to political matters uncontrollable by the family. The whole ordeal seemed like something out of the movies, but this was real life, and a reality of too many Native families searching for their loved ones.

²³ The name is changed to protect the identity of the tribe, as her case is well-known.

Jessica's case is unique, as her body was found, but simultaneously reoccurring as a substantial amount of Native women go missing and murdered. Such violent circumstances amongst Native communities near extractive activity is of increased concern as TransCanada (oil corporation) does site preparation for the Keystone Pipeline in Montana and neighboring states. According to court documents the pipeline will travel through ancestral lands, sacred sites, and historic sites of the Fort Belknap tribes²⁴ (Romo 2018). The pipeline will need workers for the TransCanada project and thus, there has been discussion of the development of man camps to house the influx of workers to come. Montana is the fourth largest state in the U.S. and has seven reservations spread across the rural landscape, leaving space for crime to be committed and spread throughout a large domain of land. The current Montana senator, Jon Tester, called for a hearing on Missing and Murdered Native Women and stated that "since the first of year 2018 up to August 2018, there were 30 missing Native peoples; all but one were women and only one had been found (U.S. Senate 2018)." Considering the violence already happening to Native women in Montana, the addition of more man camps²⁵ as part of an extractive process, around and near Indian country would be devastating to Native peoples as there is often violence on bodies where there is violence on land.

The expansion of extractive industries amongst and near Indigenous communities is happening around the world and when the link between body and land is overlooked,

²⁴ The Fort Belknap Reservation is home to the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine tribes in Montana.

²⁵ As man camps are not new to the region entirely and have been used in the past for extractive work.

the very existence of the community can be threatened (Haysom 2017). In Peru's northern Amazon, illegal gold mining projects are present (Hill 2016). Gold-mining in Peru, is not only a major cause of deforestation to the Amazon, but the industry has also permitted a violent space in the region that disproportionately affects Peruvian Indigenous women and children (Hill 2016). Forced child labor, sexual exploitation of minors, alcoholism, and human trafficking are all major components to this extractive industry (Hill 2016). Similarly in the tar sands region of Canada, where oil extraction is present, the amount of domestic and sexual violence accounts were the highest in the country in 2009 (WEA, NYSHN 2016). In Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Tanzania, and South Africa the use of military force is practiced in the regions to keep mines operating and there have been reports of rape and other violences against women via the terrorization of communities that resist extractive matters (Haysom 2017). These instances of extractive resource processes and activities have generally allowed for crimes against women to persist and continue with normalcy. Although the intersectionality of violence on land and violence on bodies is evident in this paper through theory and fieldwork research, this paper only scratches the surface of the issue and further research should be taken, especially since still only a fraction of oil is being uplifted out of the shale and with new technologies developing, heavier uplifts of oil transcends into more workers needed to be hired.

The research I produced was done in a relatively short period of time due to financial ability and time constraint. While conducting research in the Bakken, there were obvious themes presented in the interviews and journal reflections that I made light of in the previous section. In conclusion there were also emerging themes that were evident in

the interviews. Though many people discussed the influx of mainly white men into the Bakken region, there was instances of conversation where other racialized bodies were said to be present on the reservation that were contributing to the issue of violence. This emerging theme is also in need of further analysis. Additionally the Native youth recognized as leaders for social change was an emerging theme that would of be substantial importance for further review. Though recommendations are useful for many bodies of academic work and can foster a deeper understanding of the issues studied and reflected upon, I would ultimately need to spend more time analyzing the issue and continuing visitations to the reservation in order to present substantial and worthy recommendations. Thus for now, recommendations have not been apart of this work.

APPENDIX

Guiding Questions

Why don't we start out with a little intro about you?

How long have you lived on the reservation?

What was life like growing up on the reservation?

Has the reservation changed within the last few years? And if so, in what ways?

Do you remember when oil development first came to the reservation?

What is the relationship like between oil companies and the community?

What is the community environment like since the production of oil started?

In your opinion, what are the pros and cons to the oil development?

When oil development was in the works, did women have any role in the decision making?/Were females included in the decision to bring oil development to the reservation?

In your opinion, are there differing stances on oil development between men and women?

Are men and women effected differently by the oil boom on the reservation? If so, how?

How have women been effected by the oil boom on the reservation?

Being aware myself of the man camps on the reservation, how would you describe the camps?

Are you aware of any mechanisms put in place to help cope with effects from the oil boom?

Do you have any solutions to the aftereffects from the oil development?

References

- Ablavsky, Gregory. (2015). "Beyond the Indian Commerce Clause." *Yale Law Journal*. Volume 124, Issue 5, Article 2.
- Anderson, Sulome. November 18, 2016. "Just a few hours away from Standing Rock is another reservation that has dealt with the oil industry very differently, and has very different problems." *Vice*.
- Andreucci Diego, and Kallis Giorgos. (2016). "Governmentality, Development and the Violence of Natural Resource Extraction in Peru." Institut de Ciència i Tecnologia Ambientals (ICTA), Edifici Z, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Bellaterra, Barcelona, Spain.
- Barker, Adam J. (2015). "A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism." *Globalizations*. Vol 12, Issue 1, Pages 43-65.
- Blackwood, Evelyn. (1984). "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females." *The University of Chicago Press*. Vol 10. No 1, Pages 27-42.
- Bourgeault Ron G. (1983). "The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade Class, Sexism, Racism in the Transition from "Communism" to Capitalism, *Studies in Political Economy*, 12:1, 45-80.
- Campbell, Rebecca and Sharon M. Wasco. (2000). "Feminist Approches to Social Science: Epistemological and Methodological Tenets." University of Illinois at Chicago. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. Vol 28, Number 6.
- Champagne, Duane. December 23, 2012. "Non-Indians and Tribal Criminal Jurisdiction." *Indian Country Today*.
<https://newsmaven.io/indiancountrytoday/archive/non-indians-and-tribal-criminal-jurisdiction-psdSZ3LqSkqFaiugTponyg/>
- Coffey, Wallace and Rebecca Tsosie. (2001). "Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations." *Stanford Law and Policy Review*. Vol 12:2.
- Crane-Murdoch, Sierra. February 22, 2013. "On Indian Land, Criminals Can Get Away With Almost Anything." *The Atlantic*.

- De Maio, F. (2015). "Paul Farmer: Structural Violence and the Embodiment of Inequality." In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Social Theory in Health, Illness and Medicine*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Deer, Sarah. (2016). *The History of Violence: The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*. University of Minnesota Press. Vol. 33 No. 2 Page 232.
- Deer, Sarah and Kathryn Nagle. (2017). "The Rapidly Increasing Extraction of Oil, and Native Women in North Dakota." *The Federal Lawyer*.
- Fletcher, Matthew L.M. (2014). "A Unifying Theory of Tribal Civil Jurisdiction." Michigan State University College of Law. Pg 779.
- Foucault, Michel. (1979). *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An introduction*. London: Allen Lane.
- Furlan, Lauren. (2017). *Indigenous Cities: Urban Indian Fiction and the Histories of Relocation*. Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Großmann, Kristina. (2017). "Gaharu King—Family Queen: material gendered political ecology of the eaglewood boom in Kalimantan, Indonesia." *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 44:6, 1275-1292.
- Haysom, Lou. (2017). "Feminist dialogue: Violence on the land, violence on women's bodies." *Agenda*, 31:2, 126-130.
- Hill, David. May 1, 2016. "Gold-mining in Peru: forests razed, millions lost, virgins auctioned." *The Guardian*.
- Hodge, Adam R. (2009). "Vectors of Colonialism: The Smallpox Epidemic of 1780-82 and Northern Great Plains Indian Life." Kent State University.
- Horacio de la Cueva Salcedo. (2015). "Environmental Violence and Its Consequences." *Latin American Perspectives*. Issue 204, Vol 42, No 5, Pages 19-26.
- Horse (Kiowa), Perry G. (2005). "Native American Identity." *New Directions for Student Services*. No.109, Pages 62-67.
- Hughlett Mike. January 16, 2018. "North Dakota expects to hit oil production record in 2018." *Startribune*.
- Indian Law Resource Center (indianlaw.org). "Ending Violence Against Native Women."

<https://indianlaw.org/issue/ending-violence-against-native-women>

Keeler, Jacqueline. May 7, 2018. "No crime scene: The search for Olivia Lone Bear." High Country News.

King, Hobart M. (2008). "Bakken Formation: News, Maps, Videos and Information Sources." *Geoscience News and Information*.
<https://geology.com/articles/bakken-formation.shtml>

Kirmayer J Laurence, Stephane Dandeneau, Elizabeth Marshal, Morgan Phillips, Karla Williamson. (2011). "Rethinking Resilience From Indigenous Perspectives." *La Revue canadienne de psychiatrie*. Vol 56, No2, Pages.

Klein, Naomi. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt. 558 pages

Kovach, Margaret. (2010). "Conversational Method in Indigenous Research." *First Peoples Child and Family Review*. Vol 5 Number 1, p 40-48.

Lawrence, Bonita. (2003). "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia, Inc*. Vol.18, Issue 2, Pages 2-31.

Louis, Renee Pualani. (2007). "Can You Hear u Now? Voice from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research." *Geographical Research*. Pages 130-39.

Maudrie, Joshua Edward. (2014). "Defining Traditional American Indian Identity through Asishinaabe Cultural Perspective." *Cornerstone*. Pg 1.

Meyer, Roy Willard. (1977). "The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri." Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Pg 94.

Mollett, Sharlene and Caroline Faria. (2012). "Messing with gender in feminist political ecology." *Geoforum*. Pages 116-125.

National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). (2018). "Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women." *Policy Research Center*.

North Dakota Studies.Gov. "Lesson 1: Changing Landscapes, Topic 5: Energy."
<https://www.ndstudies.gov/gr8/content/unit-iv-modern-north-dakota-1921-present/lesson-1-changing-landscapes/topic-5-energy/section-3-oil>

- Ornelas T. Roxanne. (2011). "Reviewed Work: Dammed Indians Revisited: The Continuing History of the Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux by Michael L. Lawson, George McGovern, Vine Deloria Jr." *Great Plains Quarterly*, University of Nebraska Press. Vol. 31, No.3 pp 251-252.
- Park Hijin. (2017). "Racialized Women, the Law and the Violence of White Settler Colonialism." Springer. 2017. 25:267-290.
- Perry Anne. (2018). "CONQUERING INJUSTICE: An Analysis of Sexual Violence in Indian Country and the Oliphant Gap in Tribal Jurisdiction. *The Federal Lawyer*.
- Polanyi, Karl. (1944). *The Great Transformation*. Chapter 4: Societies and Economic Systems pp. 43-55. Chapter 6: The Self Regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Labor, Land, and Money, pp. 68-76.
- Porsanger, Jelena. (2010). "AN ESSAY ABOUT INDIGENOUS METHODOLOGY." University of Tromsø.
- Preston, Jen. (2013). "Neoliberal settler colonialism, Canada and the tar sands." *Institute of Race Relations*.
- Professor Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (1999). St. Martin's Press. Edition 1.
- Razack, H. Sherene. (2016). "Sexualized Violence and Colonialism: Reflections on the Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*.
- Rocheleau, Dianne, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari. (2015). "Feminist Political Ecology." *International Studies of Women and Place*.
- Romo, Vanessa. September 10, 2018. Native American Tribes File Lawsuit Seeking To Invalidate Keystone XL Pipeline Permit. *National Public Radio*.
- Rose, Nikolas. (2001). "The Politics of Life Itself." *Theory, Culture and Society* Volume 18(6):1-30.
- Russell, Brian K. (2000). "Flooded Lifeways: A Study of the Garrison Dam and its Environmental Impact Upon The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation. University of North Dakota.
- Sontag, Deborah and Brent McDonald. December 28, 2014. "In North Dakota, a Tale of Oil, Corruption, and Death." *New York Times*.

- Sultana, Farhana. (2007). "Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research." *ACME*. Pages 374-38.
- Suriano Jessica. February 14, 2018. "Students and activists fight for no more stolen sisters." *Arizona Sonoran News*.
- Smith, Andrea. (2005). Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change. *Feminist Studies*, 31(1), 116-132.
- Twomey F. Daniel, Rosemarie Feuerbach Twomey, Christine Farias, Gerard Farias and Drew L. Harris. (2016). "FRACKING:BLASTING THE BEDROCK OF BUSINESS." *Journal of Competitiveness Studies*. Vol. 24(3)pg 107.
- Umich.edu. Defining the Great Plains.
<https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/content/PLAINS/overview/defining.html>.
- UN General Assembly of the United Nations. December 20,1993. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.
- UN General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples: resolution/adopted by the General Assembly. October 2, 2007.
- United Nations—Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. "Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices."
https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf
- Urban Indian Health Institute (UIHI). (2016). "MISSING AND MURDERED INDIGENOUS WOMEN & GIRLS." <http://www.uihi.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Missing-and-Murdered-Indigenous-Women-and-Girls-Report.pdf>
- U.S. Senate - Jon Tester. November 14, 2018. "TESTER PUSHES BILL TO ADDRESS MISSING AND MURDERED NATIVE WOMEN EPIDEMIC CLOSER TO FINAL VOTE." https://www.testersenate.gov/?p=press_release&id=6518
- Valencia-Weber, Gloria. (2003). "The Supreme Court's Indian Law Decisions: Deviations from Constitutional Principles and the Crafting of Judicial Smallpox Blankets." *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*, no. 2: 405.
- VanDevelder, Paul. (2004). "Coyote Warrior: One Man, Three Tribes, and the Trial That Forged a Nation." Second Edition. *University of Nebraska Press*.

- Van Kirk, Sylvia. (1980). *Many Tender ties: Women in the Fur-trade Society, 1670-1870*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. (2016). "Patrick Wolfe's dialectics: Aboriginal History." Swinburne University of Technology. ANU Press Vol 40.
- Veuthey Sandra, and Julien-François Gerber. (2009). "Logging conflicts in Southern Cameroon: A feminist ecological economics perspective." Institute of Environmental Sciences and Technology (ICTA), Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), Spain.
- Warren, Karen J. (2005). "Feminist Environmental Philosophy", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/feminism-environmental/>.
- Weaver, Hilary N. (2009). "The Colonial Context of Violence; Reflections on Violence in the Lives of Native American Women." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Vol 24, number 9. Sage Publications.
- Weaver, Hilary N. (2001). "Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who *Really* Has It?" *University of Nebraska Press*. The American Indian Quarterly Vol. 25, Number 2, Pages 240-248.
- Williams, Chris. (2010). "Ecology and Socialism." *Haymark Books*. Chapter 6: Marxism and the Environment. Pages 106-109.
- Williams, Chris. December 5, 2013. "Violence Against Our Environment." *The Socialist*.
- Wolfe, Patrick. (2006). "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the of the native." *Journal of Genocide Research*.
- Women's Earth Alliance (WEA) and Native Youth Sexual Health Network (NYSHN). (2016). "Violence on the Land, Violence on our Bodies." http://landbodydefense.org/uploads/files/VLVBToolkit_2016.pdf
- Zaklan, Aleksandar, Dawud Ansari, Claudia Kemfert. December 25, 2017. "Crude oil: market trends and simulations point toward stable equilibrium." DIW Economic Bulletin.